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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2d,
Political Background

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

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692 In the North China Region, as elsewhere in Communist China, the employment of terror is a major tactic for the maintenance of public order and the consolidation of political power. The policy is implemented through rigid control of the populace and various methods of suppressing opposition. Such public security organs as the People's procuratorate and the People's courts are primary agencies in effecting this kind of control.

The judicial organ of the government is conceived neither as an institution of justice nor as a protector of individual rights but as a weapon of the state for "safeguarding the People's democratic system and protecting public property." In the same fashion, local People's procuratorates are also organs of control "to supervise the decisions, orders, and measures of local state organs and to supervise persons working in organs of state and all citizens to ensure observance of the law." Furthermore, they are the instruments of control of the Communist Party over the People's courts and public security agencies, supervising adjudication of the people's courts and checking the investigations of public security agencies. Unquestionably, the public security agencies, the police, and the security forces are instruments of violence. They assume direct

625 692 responsibility for the maintenance of public order and constant vigilance over the entire populace.

These organs of control are centrally organized. They are relatively immune from local interference and are rigidly supervised by the Communist Party. This chapter will deal with the People's courts and procuratorates, the public security agencies and police, and the criminal code including laws governing "counterrevolutionary" activities.

I. PEOPLE'S COURTS AND PEOPLE'S PROCURATORATES

A. People's Courts

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When the Supreme People's Court was established in November 1949, the People's courts in the North China Region were already in existence.[1] Subsequently the North China Branch Court of the Supreme People's Court was established to serve as the representative of the Supreme People's Court and as the final court in the region. The provincial People's court and courts at lower levels continued to operate with a few changes in personnel. A research institute of law was also established in the College of Political Science and Law in Peking to give elementary and advanced training to both new and the old judicial personnel.[2]

1. Report of Shen Chün-ju, Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], June 2, 1950, p. 1.
2. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1950, p. 1.

693 clear the tasks of the People;s procuratorates. They were instructed to concentrate their efforts upon the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and upon the establishment of procuratorates in all transportation centers and among the armed forces. The number of People's procurators increased almost ten times from 199 in September 1954 to 1,963 in July 1955. The number of personnel employed in these organizations increased from 6,963 to 12,155. Further expansion has been designed to cope with a reported increase in counterrevolutionary activit ies as they occurred throughout the nation..

II. PUBLIC SECURITY AGENCIES AND POLICE

625 With the possible exception of the armed forces of Communist China, public security agencies constitute the most important instrument of violence. Public security agencies exist in all organizations throughout the nation. They maintain close control over the entire populace and are authorized to make arrests to mete out punishment. They also have at their disposal the public security forces, and the police. By collaboratin with other terrorists agencies of the Communist Party and the armed forces, public security agencies exercize a profound psychological and physical coercion among the people.

A. Organization

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The public security agencies form an independent system within the government administration. Under the direction of the Ministry of Public Security of the Central Government, similar departments and bureaus exist in all administrative branches, extending down to the hsiang. The system is highly centralized and completely controlled by the Communist Party.

The Ministry of Public Security has assumed full responsibility for the maintenance of public order and safety in the North China Region. Because of the lack of information on the agencies it controls, their detailed organization and operation cannot be discussed. However, according to a 1953 report by the Nationalist Government on Formosa,[23] the Department of Public Security in a provincial government has five sections in addition to an administrative office. These five sections are charged with responsibility for political security, security administration, police, general service, and "REform-through-labor." Other units such as cadre schools, coastal public security bureaus and forced labor battalions are under the command of the department. Below the provincial level,

23. Organizational Chart of the Communist Public Security and Intelligence Agencies, Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1953.

625 public security bureaus are organized at the administrative district and municipality level. A public security bureau within an administrative district also maintains five sections similar to those of the Department of Public Security in a province. Public security bureaus within a county government are no less extensively organized. The county bureau may have four sections (political security, administrative security, investigation, and judicial administration) plus as many sub-bureaus as deemed necessary. The supervision of the management of fire stations, detention houses and prisons is directly under the county bureau. The county bureau is also empowered to establish security stations for the strengthening of public security work in the ch'ü and hsiang.

B. Public Security in Rural Areas

Apart from the reliance upon the public security agencies in the rural district for the maintenance of public order, other instruments have been employed at various times. During the Land Reform Movement, the Peasants' Association, the militia, and the People's tribunal were agencies for the enforcement of land reform and the suppression of landlords. In the view of the Communists, the landlords are always the cause of rural unrest and their suppression forms the most important task of the rural public security agencies. Landlords who violated the land reform law were subject to suppression. Those who were not killed were either compelled to work in

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625 forced labor camps or were placed under the surveillance of the public security agencies. To meet the rising resistance in rural areas in the province of Hopei, the provincial government issued an order calling for the severe punishment of former landlords and rich peasants who seized land from the poor peasants and sabotaged Communist agricultural policies.[24] The order invited accusations from the people at large and urged the strengthening of public security work in rural areas. After the issuance of the regulation on the control of counterrevolutionaries, supervision and punishment were extended to include landlords who gave no evidence of their loyalty to the regime. On the initiative of the ch'ü government, and subject to the approval of the county government, disloyal landlords could be placed under surveillance for three years or more.

After the Land Reform Movement, rural security agencies were strengthened. The establishment of security committees in the rural areas at the conclusion of the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951 made public security agencies into a network calling for mass participation. A committee composed of three to eleven members was organized in each village.[25] Members were drawn from various mass organizations and were elected by them. Public security teams under each

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24. Hopei Daily, Dec. 9,1950,p.1.

25. On regulations governing the organization of the security committee in the cities and rural areas, see People's Daily, Aug.11,1952,p.1.

625 teams under each committee filled out the network in the village and in local organizations. Under the direction of the public security commission in the hsiang government, these committees formed the foundation for the public security system in the rural districts.

With the revival of secret societies and the constant rural unrest in the North China Region since 1954, rural security has become a problem. Former landlords, the new rich, and members of the secret socities were blamed for rural fires and the destruction of agricultural producer's co-operatives. An aditorial in the People's Daily in April 1954 urged the strengthening of rural public security, particularly on the part of the militia and the security committees.[26] The use of circuit hearings conducted by the People's tribunal and the frequent visits of procuratorial teams to remote villages were encouraged. Growing rural unrest was suggested in a report made by a deputy of the National People's Congress upon his return from an investigation trip to the county of Tungkuang in Hopei Province.[27] In 1954, the number of criminal cases in that county had increased; to 113, as compared to 95 cases reported in 1953. In the first half of 1955, some 50 cases were

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26. Ibid., April 28, 1954, p. 1.

27. Ibid., July 2, 1955, p. 3.

625 reported. The inadequacy of public security agencies in that county was further indicated by the fact that almost 50 per cent of the cases reported had not been solved.

In connection with the strengthening of rural public security work, two measures were taken. One was expressed in the directive[28] on strengthening fire prevention in the rural areas, issued by the Ministry of Public Security in May 1955, and the other was the transference of command of security forces below the administrative district from the military to the public security bureaus in the administrative district and county governments.[29]

625 633 3. Public Security in the Cities. To maintain public order and safety in the cities, the Communists have undertaken four principal measures: (a) the maintenance of an extensive organization within the public security bureau; (b) the rigid control over residents' movements; (c) the establishment of urban inhabitants' organizations and committees to spy upon the people and the workers in all organizations; and (d) the strict regulation of all commercial and recreational activities.

The public security bureau in the municipal government maintains at least eight sections. They are a secretariat, political protection (including intelligence, investigation, and con-

28. Ibid., May 29, 1955, p. 2.

29. Ibid., July 31, 1955, p. 2.

625 633 fidential information), public peace and order administration, crimial police, sanitation, fire prevention, general service and supply, and personnel. Other functions under the bureau include the administration of prisons, detention houses, and "Reform-through-labor" camps as well as the training of security cadres and forces. Subsidiary to the bureau, ch'ü sub-bureaus and security sub-stations have been established. The organization of the sub-bureau is as elaborate as the bureau itself. The sub-bureau is charged with the supervising of detention houses and directing the work of security stations and security committees under them.

659 625 In the North China Region, ribid census-control was established in July 1951 by a directive issued by the Government Administration Council.[30] Any resident who wished to move had to obtain beforehand a permit from a local security station. Any person who moved into a new district had to report to the local station. Even house guests staying three days or more had to be registered. The nationwide census in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter surveillance. In 1955, a rigid system of registration increased the already established restrictions upon the people.[31]

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30. Chang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily], Hankow, July 18, 1951, p. 4.

31. Enlightenment Daily, Peking, April 2, 1955, p. 1.

625 633 Co-operating with various urban inhabitants' organizations are the Security committees organized in the cities during the 1951 Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement.[32] Established in each street, office, and factory, the security committees are under the direct supervision of the public security agencies. They spread propaganda among the inhabitants, inform them of regulations issued by the public security agencies, and encourage popular participation in all public security activities. Security committees provide vigilance over the populace by giving the government a controlled group of informers among the people. Single committees are linked to make up a general committee, headed by the chief of the public security sub-station in each area.

The sub-station consists of a chief, deputy chiefs, and several policemen. Their assigned functions include the enforcement of laws on public security and social order, the suppression of sabotage, prevention of bandit acitivites, the surveillance of counterrevolutionaries, the administration of the census, and the direction of the security committees' work.

625 517 The issuance of regulations governing the conduct of business and recreation in the North China Region by public security agencies is not only a means of supervising business transactions

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32. Report on security committee work in Peking, People's Daily, Dec. 12, 1951, p. 1.

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but a scheme for retaining control of all activities. For example, the regulation controlling the supply and sale of radio and electrical appliances requires each shop to secure a permit from a public security agency before requesting a license from the Department of Industry of the local government.[33] Monthly reports of sale and inventory are also required. Failure to report suspicious patrons to the public security agency is a punishable offense. Even the purchase or report of electrical appliances necessitate a permit from the security agencies. Other regulations, such as those governing the registration of firearms[34] and inspection of luggage,[35] follow the same rigid pattern. These regulations make the carrying of firearms a crime and grant to the public security agencies the right to inspect personal luggage at any time.

Regulations governing the operation of hotels, warehouses and recreational facilities are rigidly enforced.[36] In order to obtain an operating permit from public security agencies, owners must submit information regarding their personal history, the people involved in the business, a diagram showing the geographic location of the business, and other documents. Hotels must make daily reports and recreational centers are subject to inspection at any time. The regulation

33. Ibid., July 26, 1955, p. 3.

34. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], June 29, 1951, p. 5.

35. Ibid., May 10, 1951, p. 2.

36. Issued by the Ministry of Public Security, ibid., February 4, 1951, p. 6.

625 of printing and engraving firms is equally
517 strict.[37] These firms must secure permits for operation, and printing activities are subject to inspection by security agencies. In addition to these regulations, commercial firms are subject to additional controls from other departments, including those in charge of public purchasing and marketing.

B. Police

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Since the police force form a component part of any public security organization, its functions are dictated by the public security agency and in addition to the maintenance of public order, it engages in propaganda, explaining and justifying, by force, if necessary, government regulations.[38]

The police should be distinguished from the security forces. The latter are a component part of the People's Liberation Army and are organized by divisions and regiments. As the result of an order issued by the State Council in August 1955, security forces of administrative districts and counties were reorganized into armed police, performing functions similar to those of the security force.

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37. Ibid., Feb. 20, 1951, p. 5.

38. Police activities in Peking, People's Daily, Sept. 30, 1954, p. 6.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

over the 1917 budget. In 12 years the total budget increased 61 per cent, the amount for administration 81 per cent, for education 31 per cent, but for the police and militia only 10 per cent.

Police

The hsien police were reorganized in 1902. At that time the hsien was divided into five districts. In 1912 the name was changed, in line with the new terminology of the Republic, and there was a change in the number and duties of the top police officers. In 1915 there was another reorganization and the hsien was divided into six districts. In each district there was one central police office and from one to four branch offices. The total number of branch offices was 13. There was a police officer and assistant in each district office and an under officer in each branch office. The number of patrolmen was given as 263. Twenty-four of these were mounted police.

The police force was reorganized again in 1928 after the Nationalist forces reached North China. The name was changed to Bureau of Public Safety. The central office force was set up with one chief officer, two section heads and an associate for each, one inspector, a clerk, a treasurer, a porter, two police officers, one for the mounted detachment, an associate for each officer, ten policemen, and ten mounted men. In each of the six district offices there was a headman, a clerk, two police officers, two mounted police, and a varying number of foot police. In the branch offices, there was regularly one police officer and 12 men. The reported expenditure for the police force was $25,237 in 1917, $20,616 in 1928, and $25,884 in 1929.

Militia

The local militia, pao wei t'uan, was put under the Bureau of Public Safety in 1928 and given a headquarters budget of $1,700, but it was organized by the people rather than by the hsien government. The home guard had long been part of the village organization. This new organization apparently was an attempt to put it on a coordinated hsien-wide basis rather than have each village organize independently. The new organization and affairs of the militia were discussed by a meeting of the village heads and their assistants, called together by the magistrate. The six districts for the militia were the same as the six police districts. Each district was divided into five sub-districts. The village

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elders and their assistants in each sub-district elected a representative to the district committee. These five men coopted two popular farmers and two men from the public organizations in the villages. This committee of nine nominated three men to be the head of the militia in the district. The magistrate appointed one of the three. The committee of nine also was responsible for the local budget of the militia, which it usually approved on a six month basis.

The directors were supposed to number nine in each district, but this was true of only three districts. There were five directors in the 1st District, seven in the 5th, 13 in the east half and three in the west half of the 6th.

The date given for the reorganization of the militia was the spring of 1929, except for the west half of the 6th District. It organized some five months earlier, in the latter part of 1928. When the east half of the 6th District was organized in 1929 two militia groups were kept in the district.

The district organization generally consisted of a headman, a clerk, a soldier, and a guard for each district office, with a sub-head and assistant for each of the sub-districts, a total of 14 men. The 4th District reported a slightly different organization with only three sub-heads and two assistants, an investigator, three cooks, a coolie, and two mounted police.

The number of volunteers serving under the district officers was ordinarily 45 men, but the 4th District reported 54. The total number in the militia was, therefore, some 422 men, 98 in the administration and 324 volunteers. This, of course, was the peacetime basis. Additional men were called out whenever any local crisis arose.

The reported budgets of the districts ranged from $1,000 to $1,240 per year. The total was $8,374.

The district militia committees were also called upon to decide how much each family in their district should pay for the support of the militia and toward the support of the troops stationed in Ting Hsien. This, apparently, was a new type of assessment for other taxes had helped meet the demands of the army in 1927 and 1928. The militia report says that the amount fixed by the district committees was 60 cents per family per half year, except in the 4th District, where the assessment was set at 35 cents. In the tax report the amount of the assessment was given as 35 cents per family per year.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China-AF12

The militia were reported to be more effective than the police of the Bureau of Public Safety in protecting the villages. Being local volunteers, they were closer to the villages. In case of trouble the police would have to be summoned from the nearest branch office. The militia were especially helpful, during the winter period of farm unemployment, in protecting the villages from robbers and other trouble makers.

Bureau of Construction

In 1920 the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was appointed by the Provincial Department of Industry from a slate of three nominated by the hsien magistrate. Four associates were also appointed. At that time the administrative expense of the Bureau was $122 per month. This expense was financed from one cash of the 3.5 cash received by the Merchants' Gild Association from the tax on each piece of native cloth sold in Ting Hsien. If this allocation was not sufficient, the difference was to be met from the one per cent of the land tax that was allocated to expenses. In 1922 the salary of the head of the bureau was $22 a month. The associates received $10 a month.

The Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work was changed to the Bureau of Industry in 1925. In the reforms of 1928 the Bureau of Industry became the Bureau of Construction. Its three sections were Agriculture, Construction, and General. In 1929 the administrative budget of the Bureau was $5,160. It was paid from the general hsien income. At that time the salary of the head of the bureau was $40 a month. The four experts were each paid $27 a month, the three section managers $24 a month, and the clerks $18 a month.

Reports on the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Work stated that, from the establishment of the Bureau, a total of 25,802 wells had been dug and 3,311,220 trees of 17 different varieties had been planted. The China International Famine Relief's well survey report gave the number of wells dug from 1916 to 1930 as 26,103.[2]

The Bureau cooperated with the People's Factory by sending teachers to the villages to instruct the people how to make braid for straw hats. The braid was bought by the factory. In 1929 a subsidy of $156 was given to the factory, but in 1930 it had to be closed.

The Bureau of Construction required the people living along the

2. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

621 185 312 731 cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the various owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well. The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were being kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

621 241 625 Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were assigned to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society, it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued.

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program.

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV.

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

fore sunset every family was to clean the street in front of its house. If fertilizer had to be put in the street it should be removed within three days. Plans were made to vaccinate the children. While the vaccination was to be arranged by the Bureau, the cost of the vaccine was to be met from philanthropic rather than village funds. It could not be determined how successful the vaccination program had been.

The field investigator commented on the fact that the village looked different because of the work of the Bureau, the streets were clean and repaired, and trees were growing along the roads. He stated that in winter the snow was cleaned off the streets in one day.

Mutual Protection

In November, 1915, the mutual protection program was organized. The village was divided into five districts, and a leader was chosen from each district to be responsible for the protection work. Two night watchmen were engaged. In case of theft all the village was summoned by the ringing of the village gong.

If any of the villagers were hurt or killed in attempting to catch a robber it was customary that they should be given a sum for medical expenses or their families be given a funeral present. No indemnity was given to the family that had been robbed. The expenses of the mutual protection program were to be paid by the entire village.

Education

Modern education was started in Chai Ch'eng in 1894 with the establishment, apparently under private auspices, of a Yü Cheng school for boys. The school was taken over by the village in 1905 when $1,500 was secured from the village treasury for the building of a schoolhouse at the east end of the village. This had five classrooms and five teacher's rooms. The new building made it possible to enlarge the school. It was enlarged again in 1913 when another $2,200 was appropriated from the village treasury for the building of three classrooms, 12 chien of rooms for the students, and five chien for the kitchen and dining rooms. This enlargement made it possible for the village to take over the higher primary class that Mr. Mi Chien-san had started at his own expense the previous year. He also was financing higher and lower primary schools for girls. When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü saw the educational development at Chai Ch'eng he contributed first $600 and later another $550

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

the cash, and an additional surcharge of 49.2 per cent designated for the police and for education. After 1914 these items were combined into a single levy. In 1927 the total was 60,206,017 cash or $16,051.91. In 1929 the rate was more than doubled. The total was $38,578.04. This was 30 per cent of the provincial levy.

Together the provincial and hsien levies for 1929 totaled $144,938. The combined rate was 48.52 cents per o nei mu (from 13.9 to 3.47 cents per standard mu) and 6.89 cents per o wei mu. The overall average was just under 10 cents per standard mu.

Most of the villages collected "crop money" from the owners and operators of the surrounding farm land, in order to pay the village expenses for crop watching, night watchmen, local police, home guard, schools, and the demands of the military forces. The rates for the Ting Hsien villages were not available but in a village about 25 miles south the charge varied from 12 to 23 cents per mu during the five year period, 1927-31. The highest rate was in 1928 when the military demands were especially heavy.[1] In 21 multi-village areas near Peking the fall "crop money" ranged from 15 to 70 cents per mu in 1929 and from 18 to 45 cents in 1930. For the individual areas the averages for the five years, 1929 to 1933 inclusive, ranged from 19.5 to 54 cents per mu. For 13 of the 21 areas the five year average was between 30 and 45 cents per mu. The average annual assessment of the 21 areas ranged from 30.6 to 36.4 cents per mu.

Transfer taxes were levied on all land sales and on mortgages. The latter were taxed as they involved a definite land transfer. The mortgagee regularly took possession of the mortgaged land and held and used it until the mortgage was repaid. The income from the land went to the mortgagee in lieu of interest on the loan.

The tax regulations required the village land supervisors, village gentry, to witness the signatures on land deeds and to see that the transfer taxes were paid within six months. Delay beyond six months brought a 100 per cent penalty. If delayed beyond one year the penalty was 200 per cent and beyond two years 300 per cent. Concealing the value of the land transferred, or the amount of the mortgage, incurred penalties of from 100 to 500 per cent depending on the amount of the discount, 100 per cent for undervaluations up to 20 per cent and 500 per cent if over

1. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Politically, P'ing-chiao-tsun is under the jurisdiction of the Peiping municipality. The protection of life and property of the villagers depends to a very great extent upon how well the municipal police functions in this district. On many occasions in the past when the police machinery was restrained or destroyed, the people of the village had to flee to the city for safety. Occasionally, arrests are made by the police because certain individuals are suspected of having joined the gang which steals jewels from tombs of Manchu nobles in neighboring districts or of having manufactured heroin or opium, or of some other crimes.

According to municipal regulations with slight modification in practice, the smallest political unit is the *chia* 甲 consisting of ten households; above this is the *pao* 保 consisting of ten *chia;* four *pao* at present join together into a *lien-pao* 連 保; altogether the northern-suburban police district has twenty-three *lien-pao.* The chief function of this *pao-chia* system is to assist the police in maintaining order. The divisional heads of the *pao-chia* are appointed by the bureau of police of the municipal government. There are six *chia* in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but, strangely enough, one of the six heads of the *chia* does not have his usual residence in the village and no attention is paid to this by the police. The head of the *pao* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun, but he is responsible for a district larger than his village.

Before the inauguration of this *pao-chia* system, the villagers were supposed to have local self-government, according to which the northern suburban district was subdivided into *fang* 坊 and *li* 里. The *fang-li* system had been abolished for some time, but it recently has been re-established and now exists along side the *pao-chia* system. The heads of the *fang* and *li* are appointed by the city mayor and are to assist the municipal government in collecting taxes, building roads and other works of construction. The head of the *li* is a resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is responsible for about fifty households. It happens that this *li*-head is also a *chia*-head.

In addition, there are the two systems of "road protection village" *ai hu tsun* 愛護村 and *ti-ch'u fen hui* 地區分會 or "regional subdivision". P'ing-chiao-tsun has a "road protection village" head who is also the head of the *pao* and is responsible to a Japanese officer in the railway station about a mile away from the village. The *ti-ch'u fen hui* system was only recently inaugurated by the Hsin Min Hui 新民會, the only political party in the Peiping-Tientsin political area. It takes over the green-crop tax-collecting function from the *lien-pao.*

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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In the internal life of the village, common affairs, such as the lesser legal disputes and providing the village teacher for the children, are in the hands of the village elders, an informal group of the older family heads who act as advisers of the headman of the village. The chief occupation is agriculture, and the clothing is frequently made from cotton grown in the local area. The religious life of the villagers is to a large extent confined to the worship of the ancestors in the homes and to the worship at the village temple, which also has its annual festival.

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Certain group activities are engaged in by the villagers under the direction of the elders. The most common of these is the organization and work of the "Ching Miao Hui" or "Society for the Protection of the Growing Crops." Each family is requested to supply a certain number of youths to watch in turn over the growing crops. Frequently, also, families are asked to supply able-bodied men for the local militia to protect the village from bandits. The representation of the Chinese village as a democracy has been greatly overdone. As a matter of fact, it is a little oligarchy, controlled by the heads of the more important families. Among these heads there is a large degree of cooperation and counsel, but the people as a whole have practically nothing to say about the affairs of the village. In dealing with officials, the village headman represents the entire village unit.

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THE MARKET TOWN AREA

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Each village is linked up with a local market-town area. To this town on certain fixed days each month the farmer may take his excess produce for sale and here he may buy farm implements, grain, cattle, cloth or other products which he needs. Frequently the local areas specialize in producing certain goods, gold work, agricultural implements, cloth, jewelry, or other products. For the most part, how-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

671 (3) The reorganization of certain technical services of the government. There are 138 modern courts in China. These were praised highly by the Extraterritorial Commission. An excellent codification of Chinese laws is being drawn up by trained Chinese lawyers.

205 206 (4) A remarkable development of the postal and telegraph systems. "In 1911 the length of mail routes was about 120,000 miles. Now they cover more than 250,000 miles. The money-order business during this period has increased from about $6,000,000 in silver to more than $75,000,000. It is pointed out that this remarkable branch of government service is carried on almost exclusively by Chinese. Likewise, the telegraph service is now so organized that messages are received in many of the remotest parts of the Republic.

496 (5) There are 7,000 miles of railroads, and they are managed on the business side and on the technical side almost entirely by Chinese.

491 (6) Ten years ago there were scarcely any highways in China that could be used by motor cars. Now there are 10,000 miles of good roads.

• 625 (7) The growing efficiency of the police and street cleaning departments of many Chinese cities is a sign of progress.

744 (8) In Peking a beginning has been made in governmental public health activities. There is an epidemic prevention bureau which is embarking on the production of vaccines and serums, and an experimental public health demonstration center for one district of the capital.

654 (9) The remarkably efficient geological survey conducted by V. K. Ting is now shedding more light on the real mineral resources of China.

439 (10) The importations from foreign countries in 1880 amounted to about 80,000,000 taels ($111,111,111),[1] of

[1] The sign $ unless accompanied by the term "gold" is used in this study to designate Chinese currency. For exchange rates see pp. 63-64.

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both organisations to work together in Ching Ho.

3 The Association for the Protection of Green Crops.

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The next important organization in the town is the farmers association which is called by various names in different districts: either The Agricultural Association, The Association for the protection of Green Crops (The *Ching miao Hai*) or The Farmers' Union. The first name is an official title given by the old government, the second is the popular name, and third is the name given by the Kuomentang to the reorganised association under their direction. In Ching Ho we found the second and third types of association only.

The Association for the Protection for the Protection of Green Crops is an organisation purely for self protection. It has a long history dating back severa hundreds of years, and has enjoyed great popularity in many parts of China, especially in the Province of Hopei. The internal organisation is very simple. There are five heads, (one serving as treasurer,) who own large areas of land, and, and who are elected by the consensus of opinion of larger land owners. Thus although the tenants receive an equal amount of protection, they, have no voice in the administrative side of their work, and the organisation is really an associotion of land owners. These heads assess the dues to be paid, with the result that quite often the tenants are paying a full share while the larger land owners are carrying less than their weight.

The primary work of the association is the protection of green crops in the Spring and Autumn, and four guards are employed for this purpose. On the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

241 fifteenth day of the sixth month of the Chiness year
625 the Chinese year the heads call togother the members or the farmers who need protection, in the Temple of the Three Sages, and there make offerings to the God of War or Kuan Ti (關帝) and at the same time the guards commence their watch in the fields. The guards have power to arrest any person or animal who trespasses on the fields or damages the crops in any way. The offenders are brought before the heads who name the amount of compensation to be paid, By the middle of the ninth month most of the crops have beed harvested,and the heads again gather the members together for another offering, and then the work of protection is suspended and the expenses are aportioned among the members according to the number of acres which each holds. The watch for the wheat crops only lasts one month, from the twentieth of the fourth month to the twentieth of the fifth month and the number of guards is increased or decreased according to the amout of land under wheat in that particular year. No special offerings are made during this short watch.

During recent years the Association has taken up other kinds of work, the most important being the answering of requests for financial assistance from the soldiers and the district government. For instance, in the summer of 1928 the district government borrowed $500 from the Association, which they guaranteed by land taxes. There were also a number of cases where soldiers living in the town demanded carts and fuel, and $200 were spent for that purpose, and in addition some $30 has been spent in support

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of the local school and the police. Although the field worker tried to get informatiou regarding the finances of the Association from different sources the heads refused to give any pertculars, so that no accurate accurate accounts can be given here, but from conversations with the heads and other leaders in the community we have been able to make a rough estimate. As the expenses determine the income we give our estimate of expenses first.

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TABLE XLIII. EXPENDITURE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF CROPS (1928-1929)

NATURE OF EXPENSES	AMOUNT OF EXPENSES (IN MOLLARS MAX.)
Alvancement for land tax	500
Fuel for resident soldiers	200
Miscellane expenses in connection with requests of soldiers	100
Contribution to local school and police	30
Office expenses	20
Offerings	20
Wages for guards	40
Interest	30
Total	840

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625 The first item has been financed by a loan, and it is hoped to clear this off by the land-owners paying their tax to the district government, but since the change in the district government, a rumour has spread that this is not the case, and that the land tax should still be paid to the county government. The method of collection is by apportionment of the expenses among the farmers according to the acreage of land held by each, and in 1928 this assessment was 25 cents for each *mow* of land. There are 1700 *mows* of land under the protection of the Associatinn so that if we multiply the amount of land by the charge per *mow* we get an estimated income of $425. This income does not balance the expenditure, but the $500 loan was not apportioned amonget the farmers in the ordinary way, but secured by a loan, so that the nett expenses are only $329. Allowing a deduction for land which may not be under crops we should get an income and expenditure which would practically balance. Since the setting up of the Party organisations msst of the Protection associations have been taken over by them and re-organised into Farmers' Unions, but because of the strength of its leaders the Ching Ho Association has been able to retain its position in the community.

It is important to notice that this Association only has control of the land north of the Ching River, which coincided with the political territory. The south side which does not have independent political organisation is protected by the Association in Kuan Hsi Chuan (關西莊) about three *li* east of Ching Ho. This association controls 4,800 *mows* of land and

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employs 13 guards. Owing to its larger area, and the protection which it receives from the Peping municipal government the expenses of the Association are much smaller, amounting tc only 15 cents for the past year. 241 625

4. The Farmers' Union.

As in the case of the Merchants' Union, the Farmers' Union is an organisation for the whole district, and is created under the direction of the Party authorities, with the difference that although the Merchants' Union has gained a footing in Ching Ho the Farmers' Union has not been able to take the place of the powerful Association for the Protection of Green Grops, and is therefore, only a district Association, and has not affected Ching Ho itself. 241 625 659

The Farmers' Union has had a long history in the southern provinces, but its first appearance in Ching Ho was in November 1928 when the local Party authorities summoned together the heads and associates of the seventeen villages in the east region of the Fifth district of Wan Ping. The Chairman of the county Party came down to make a speech, and appointed five directors, together with one member from the local Party organisation, to start a local Farmers' Union. The chief work appears to have been done by this local member who has spent much time in the villages, calling together mass meetings of the family heads, and explaining to them the advantages to be obtained by organising into such a Union. If they are unfriendly he has had to try to persuade the farmers personally. After he has obtain-

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241 ed enough support he takes along a policeman, calls
625 a meeting of the farmers, and the Union is started.
659 After about one month's work this man has been successful in organising eight village Unions into the Fifth district Union, but he was not able to get the support of Ching Ho, and the membership in the other village is very small, amounting to only about 12% of the families. The membership of the eight village Unions is as follows :—

TABLE XLIV. MEMBERSHIP OF FARMERS' UNIONS

ORDER OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERS
1st	18
2nd	18
3rd	18
4th	11
5th	23
6th	18
7th	11
8th	35
Total	152

Each Union is supposed to support itself financially, and to pay something in support of the district Union, but in most cases they have simply taken the position of the Association for the Protection of Groen Crops with its power of charging the land owners, so

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that really the new Unions are simply the old Association under a new name and new managment. 241 625 659

Since the student trouble all Party members have left the town, together with the organiser and his associates. No new Union has since been created, and it is doutbful whether the new leaders can hold their power for very long in face of the indifference of the people, and the reaction in favour of the leaders of the old association.

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CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICS.

1. Public Safety.

625 The public safety of the town is looked after by a police force maintained by the government, and by the local guard, the organisation of which is in the hands of the people. The south side of the town which is under the political control of the Municipal Government of Peping is watched by a few policemen staioned there, while the north side maintains a branch office of the county police. and a large number of guards.

The local guards are only appointed temporarily at about the end of September when the government asks each village in the east region to send a certain number of guards to the central organization. Five of the big villages send two guards each, seven medium sized villages send one each, three of the small villages contripute money towards the hiring of half a guard each, and the town sends ten persons, making a total of twenty eight guards. One village in the northeastern corner of the district does not make any centribution owing to its distance from the headquarters, and is left to make its own arrangements for the protection of its citizens.

There is no officer for direction and supervision, and all the guards are under the police head, and carry

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out the ordinary duties of a policeman. In the day time they patrol the highways of the sixteen villages. dividing into two groups of ten, and the remainder stay in the police station to help maintain order in the town. At night there are two groups of five who watch the town only. Sometimes the guard are ordered to go to the villages to obtain fuel or carts for the resident soldiers; at other times they accompany the régular police force in the pursuit of robbers. 625

After the coming in of the Party Organisation the local guards were not called together in September, but during March 1929 the Provincial Government issued an order that every village should call together the local guard immediately. The new village head in consultation with his subordinates soon had the guards organised as usual, and the guard is now finaned by a small contribution ranging from 10 cents to $1.50 from the sixty wealthy stores, and it may now be that the guard will continue in existence during the whole year, instead of being a temporary institution for protection during the winter months.

The south side of the town is looked after by the ninth station of the first police district of Peping north. The station was founded in 1925 and has one officer who receives $20 a month, two subordinate officers who ate paid $11 a month, and eight policemen who receive $8 a month only. Five of the policeman live in nearby villages and only return to the town when another five are sent to take their places. The station is financed entirely by a house tax collected from the 369 families in this area. There are four rates: 5 cents, 10 cents, 20 cents and 30 cents according to

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625 the size and condition of the house. The total expenses including wages and office expenses of $4 a month, amount to $110 a monlh, but in addition there is an extra $200 for uniforms and fur overcoats for the officers and men.

The north police station has one officer, one subordinate officer, and eleven policemen, and is of a higher class than the station on the south side. It has charge of sixteen villages in the eastern area of the district. In the western area there is a branch office maintaining one subordinate officer and six policemen. There are also four special stations, two in the road taxation bureaux, one at Hot Spring's Sanitorium, and one in a Japanese mining plant, the expenditure for which is about $150 per month with $500 additional expenses for the whole year. This money comes from three sources, the ½% taxation on grain sales, a small toll on carts and animals passing over the roads, and contributians from various Associations for the Protection of Grops in the eastern villages, and the balance is usually made up by the Chamber of Commerce.

625 722 During the emergency month in 1918 when the Fengtien troops were retreating from Peping to Mukden a body of volunteers was organised to help the police and guard in the defence of the district against both soldiers and robbers. Every family was supposed to contribute at least one member to answer any emergency calls under the direction of a president and two vice-presidents. The signal was given in one village, and the volunteers turned out with knives, sticks and farm implements, and succeeded in scaring

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away the marauders. Since the coming of the Party organisation the president has resigned, and the organisation has lapsed. 722 625

2. Self Government.

In Ching-ho we have district self-government and village self-government, the former having the advantage of knowing the county authorities and being the link between the official connty government and the local self government. The village and the county government have not many points of contact and the district government has taken advantage of this position, and holds the most important position in rural politics. 634

The self-government movement was started in 1915 when a school was established in Peping to give suitable training to would-be officers. Although the word used is *self government* the officers were appointed by the government direct, the village heads by the county government, and the district trustees by the governor of the Capital District of Peping. Two trustees were appointed for the Fifth District of Wan Ping, and two for every other village, all of whom continued to serve until the coming of the Party Organisation

Although there are these two systsms of self-government in Ching-ho, yet in practice they work very much together, using the same office, and dealing with the same problems. but it is the district self-government association that is the real functional organisation with the help of the village self-government associationn. All financial matters come under 634 622